

above the fire but close enough to be affected by its warmth. After two weeks it is set at the edge of the fire and left there for several days, "until the feel of my hands tells me it is ready to be set directly on the fire." After several hours on the fire, it is ready to be used for cooking purposes. A cántaro is made in the same manner as an olla, except for its shape. Since a cántaro is not used for cooking, the firing process ends after it has been hardened at the edge of the fire.

The two cántaros shown on the bench in plate 45, 1, were being used for carrying and storing water. The one to the left is 7 inches deep; the one to the right, 9 inches; both are 3 inches wide at the opening. The little "tail" on the one at the left facilitates pouring.

All the pottery I saw was undecorated. Most of it was black, though some was brown; and several cántaros in Alepúe area were of a reddish color, produced by smearing a coating of red clay over the pottery. In Panguipulli and Alepúe areas pottery "of a different color than that made by the Mapuche" is sometimes turned up when plowing. Such pottery is spoken of as *trailki*; that made by the Araucanians themselves, as *wishün*. Félix José records (1916, vol. 1, p. 223) *trailki* as probably having been the work of Spaniards.

SILVERSMITHING

Specialists formerly knew the art of silversmithing—an art, it appears, now lost. "I know it was done by hammering silver nuggets or silver coins, but that is all I have heard anyone else say about it, also," said a 70-year-old Panguipulli man. "If we want any silver ornaments, we buy them from Chileans. It is said that these Chileans traded them in when Mapuche needed flour or clothing. I know that some of these Chileans robbed old Mapuche graves to get them." An Alepúe man had heard it said that occasionally a man had all the silver trimmings of his horse's harness melted down and had silver ornaments made for his wife. In Alepúe area today a Chilean makes creditable copies of old ornaments. "This stickpin was made by him; he made it to resemble one my mother uses." A 12-year-old school-girl wore earrings made by him, "like the ones women formerly wore, my grandmother told me."

SUMMARY

This account is based almost entirely on data collected by the writer and a field assistant in 1946-47 during personal interviews with 79 Araucanians in areas around Alepúe, Panguipulli, Cofaripe, and Borne in the provinces of Cautín and Valdivia in Chile.

The literature calls these people Araucanians; they call themselves

- 105 Mapuche. Culturally they were and are an agricultural people; today they also raise cattle and sheep. Linguistically they are, along with the Argentine Araucanians, an independent family, their language being known as Araucanian.

Prenatal factors.—Of a childless couple, the woman is believed to be the sterile person. By means of medicinal preparations, it is said, either sterility or fertility can be produced. According to Cooper's sources impotency can be brought upon an unfaithful paramour by an unmarried mother as revenge. The number of children in the families interviewed varied from 3 to 11.

Prenatal period.—The period of gestation is reckoned by the moon; only the approximate time of delivery is known. Most informants had not thought about the time that the fetus becomes human; all agreed that it is human at birth.

Abortifacients—some being common knowledge, others being known only to specialists—had been used by an occasional woman, married or unmarried. Spontaneous abortions also occurred.

Boys were, and are, preferred to girls. Girls, however, are in no way made to feel unwanted. Drinking a specific medicinal preparation known to few is said to bring about the conception of a boy. There is no preference regarding the first-born.

It is believed that an expectant mother, because of certain physical reactions, can predict the sex of her child, and that other persons can do so because of the presence or absence of certain facial changes in the expectant mother. A father who dreams of a falcon can expect a son. There is no belief in reincarnation.

Informants in Cofaripe and Panguipulli areas had no beliefs in prenatal food taboos. In one section of Alepúe area such beliefs exist for an expectant mother; in another section of the same area, all children and all men and women of child-bearing age are prohibited from eating jaiba, a small sea animal that attaches itself to a rock. Twins could be expected if either the man or the woman ate the double yolk of an egg.

An expectant mother must not be frightened lest she abort or give premature birth; she must observe certain conduct taboos lest it affect her unborn child or its delivery.

Childbirth, and care of mother and newborn baby.—Informants insisted that a child is always born in the ruka which is its home—according to Cooper's sources it is born in a specially built one. Persons present at a delivery are the woman's husband and their children, her mother, a midwife or two, occasionally other relatives of the

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957

SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

WHOLE VOL. ARAUCANIAN CHILD LIFE—HILGER

239

woman, and her friends. Machi (shaman) are not present, unless the woman or baby becomes sick. 105

Formerly midwifery was practiced by women only, unless the family was too poor to pay the fee asked for, in which case the husband of the woman delivered the child. There is no set fee for delivery; generally none is asked for. Today, in Alepúe area, several middle-aged men can be called upon to deliver a woman.

For several days preceding delivery, the woman drinks a specific herbal decoction. No remedy to alleviate labor pains was known to my informants; Cooper mentions one as being used in recent times.

A woman kneels in giving birth, bracing herself by gripping two upright poles or clutching a rope suspended from rafters. The midwife assists delivery by pressure on the woman's abdomen. In a difficult delivery, a midwife, an expert in such cases, is called upon. If she fails to deliver the baby, it is believed an evil spirit prevents the birth and the machi is hired to perform a machitum. Stillbirths occur. Parents give thanks to God, once the child is born, and ask Him to help the child to live and grow to maturity. Following delivery the mother drinks an herbal decoction.

The baby's birth is not announced or celebrated. Nor is the mother or baby fumigated. Usually the family and those who assisted at the birth partake of a substantial meal of lamb or mutton following a birth.

The navel cord is cut by an assisting woman, who also attends to the navel. Formerly the cord was always saved, and usually is today; disposition of it differed in different areas. If being gagged does not cause the woman to expel the placenta, she is made to vomit. Secundines, including placenta, were always buried in the ruka formerly; occasionally, in more recent times, they are buried outside the ruka. No informant knew of a child born with a caul.

To prevent blindness, a child's eyes are treated with the sap of a specific plant. The closing of the fontanels is believed to be related to physical and mental development. To keep winds from blowing through fontanels, the baby's head was formerly covered with soft moss; today, a cap is used.

To make certain that the child's face will be round—a trait considered beautiful and true Araucanian—the mother massages and shapes the baby's head and face. A low hairline on the forehead, an Araucanian trait, is not desired; hairs are pulled out to heighten it.

Following delivery the mother rests quietly for about two hours after which she walks to the family bathing place—lake, river, or ocean—and there wades directly into deep water. Occasionally, the

● 105 old custom of dipping the baby into cold water immediately after birth is adhered to, one of the attending women doing so.

A mother bathes her child frequently during infancy and childhood; some do so daily. Generally it is bathed in the family bathing place or in cold water in the *ruka*. An occasional mother bathes it in lukewarm water or in a decoction.

Postnatal interests.—Formerly a child's ears were pierced immediately after birth; more recently, only those of a girl are pierced—often not until she is 2 or 3 months old. Only one piercing was, and is, made in each ear. Anyone may do the piercing. Formerly, and occasionally today, relatives are invited to a plentiful meal on the day of the piercing, or very soon thereafter. No part of the child's body was ever painted or decorated with design. Nose and lips were not pierced.

Chafing was prevented by frequent bathing. Pieces of chamall (homewoven cloth) served as diapers; today, occasionally, pieces of cotton cloth are used. A child that walks wears its diaper in skirtlike fashion. The method of training in toilet habits was not ascertained.

Traditionally the cradle is made by the man before the birth of his first child and is used by all subsequent children. When no more children are expected, it is given away. A cradle is never borrowed or lent.

Two types of cradles are probably traditional: one with a band of wood attached to a backrest, and the other, a handleless one with backrest attached to two poles or boards. The handleless type is not known in Alepúe area. The cradle is made unceremonially; no part is ornamented and no toys are attached to it. Hammocks are not used.

A child is tied to its cradle until it is able to walk. Until then it is generally transported in its cradle. A child able to walk is transported short distances in its mother's arms or astride, in front of her, on horseback.

Both (nonsense-syllabled and burden-syllabled) lullabies are sung to babies.

The appearance of the first tooth is recognized as proper physical development; an occasional family today makes an event of its appearance, but it is not traditional to do so. To soothe teething jaws they are washed with a decoction; no hard substance is given upon which to bite to hurry teething. If the deciduous teeth are slow in falling out, an herbal preparation is applied to the child's gums. When the deciduous teeth come out, they are buried in the floor of the *ruka* (Cofaripe area) or thrown into a bush of *chupón* (Alepúe area), places where dogs cannot get at them.

The child is expected to creep when a year old; at 2 years it is expected to walk. The child's first step, first walk, first laugh, and first words are noted as progress in its development, but are not celebrated as an event. Until proper toilet habits have been learned, both boys and girls are dressed in skirtlike diapers and chamall; after that, in clothes patterned after those of adults.

Nursing, weaning.—While the mother is bathing, following delivery, one of the attending women who knows how, relieves the baby of the phlegm in its throat. Upon the mother's return from her bath, she nurses the baby, and does so thereafter whenever it cries. If the mother has no milk flow, she drinks a mixture of extract of a root and flowing water, and also washes her breasts with it. To increase the milk flow, she eats large quantities of available foods, drinking with them cold and warm water alternately. Today, an occasional mother supplements an insufficient supply of her own milk by feeding the baby commercially condensed milk mixed with water.

A baby that cries for reasons other than hunger is thought to be sick and remedial measures are resorted to; occasionally a machi is asked to perform over it. A child is always nursed until it is a year old; seldom when older than two.

A child is weaned by being given solid foods gradually and then eventually being separated from its mother for several days. An occasional child sucks its finger.

Atypical conditions.—Twins were known to have been born to Araucanians, but no other multiple births were known to have occurred. Treatment of twins differed in different areas—from loving them and treating them like other children, to killing one of them.

Incest is a disgrace. It was not known to have occurred between siblings, or between mother and son, but other rare instances were spoken of.

An unmarried pregnant woman loses the esteem of others, and her family feels disgraced. Her parents, formerly, tried to force a marriage with her paramour; when unsuccessful in this, the woman was generally sent from her home and usually delivered her child without assistance. Occasionally an abortion is attempted; in some instances, it is known, the child was killed at birth. In general, however, the child is cared for in the home of its mother where it is well treated and not blamed or stigmatized. Not infrequently the mother takes it with her when she marries.

A child very rarely was, or is today, born deformed. Formerly, a child so born or one born mentally deficient was killed. Sick children are given small or diluted dosages of herbal decoctions. These failing

● 105 to cure, a machi is asked to perform over the child. No Araucanian was known to have been born blind, or to be color blind; deafness is very rare. Left-handed children and adults were met; so were stutterers.

No Araucanian child is ever without a home: a deserted or orphaned child is adopted; in instances, also, one from a normal home is adopted.

Servants were not institutional; second and third wives probably rendered all services needed. Neither was slavery institutional, unless persons held as hostages and not redeemed could be looked upon as such.

Names.—According to informants, the child was given its personal name by its father, usually on the day of its birth (especially if a boy); occasionally, not until it was a year old; rarely, not until it was 2 years of age. According to Cooper's sources, the naming feast followed the days of the mother's seclusion after delivery, usually after 8 days, or sooner.

Either the father selected the name and gave it without ceremony, or someone outside the family selected it, and either this person or the father gave it at a naming ceremony. The name was generally that of a relative. In instances these customs still prevail. Occasionally a boy's name is changed.

The origin of names is not clear. In all probability names did not originate in dreams—unless those of the machi did—or in unusual circumstances or observations made in connection with stones, birds, or similar objects. It appears that each machi was given a new name. No informant had heard of a naming or kinship system known as the kuga or kumpén.

Feminine names are distinctly different from masculine ones; no prefixes or suffixes are added to indicate gender. Araucanians had no surnames until Whites introduced them for important permanent records. The father's personal name then became the child's surname.

A nickname may be attached to an individual. Elders often call a girl by a diminutive of her name as an expression of affection.

The family.—Members of all families, especially those of a cacique, were, and are today, expected to have stamina, self-respect, and courage, and to be helpful and law-abiding. All families, today, that live according to accepted social standards and whose economic situation is adequate have about them an air of independence and self-respect, and are respected by others. No one in any area was spoken of as owning excessive amounts of land, oxen, cattle, or sheep—the measure of wealth. A family's need is the criterion of its possessions;

excessive amounts over needs may arouse jealousy, and jealousy may cause disaster through black art. It appears that each person has a right to own land in the area in which his father lived; attempts to acquire land in other areas are usually futile. 105

The wearing of a hat by male members of the family, and shoes by all members, gives a family status—it indicates to others that the family has acquired means beyond the immediate necessities of life. A family in which one parent is non-Araucanian is not held in high esteem; neither is a family in which there is continuous quarreling, or in which there is a thief.

The man dominates the family. On the whole, men seemed considerate of their wives and were helpful when needed. The impression given in the literature that women were slaves to their husbands was not substantiated by my observations. Occasionally, however, a man did beat his wife to the extent that she committed suicide. In many things the man confers with his wife, but it is he, as the father of the family, who makes the decisions, and they are final.

Members of a family have an appreciative interest in each other. Affection is mutual between parents and children, and is lifelong, generally. An occasional father is cruel, even brutal, to his children. Having a favorite child is not institutional. There are no brother-sister taboos today. Although one very old informant related that brothers and sisters in the early days spoke little to each other, it is doubtful that there was a taboo.

Children's behavior.—A very small child is bathed by its mother when the mother takes her own bath which is usually daily in all seasons, generally just before sundown. Older children take their own baths. All bathing is done in running water or in lakes. Girls of a family bathed at one time; their brothers at another time. Bathers scatter along the shore, some distance apart. No soap or substitute is used.

The hair is washed when bathing and is occasionally shampooed with suds made from bark. Winds do the drying. If a luster is desired, the hair is rinsed in human urine. Formerly, a boy's hair was cut neck length; today it is cut Chilean fashion. Formerly, a girl's hair was never cut; not infrequently, today, it is. A girl's hair hangs loose or is twisted or braided. It is held from the face by means of a band. Rarely are children infested with lice.

Girls today wear earrings; boys seldom do. Many boys and girls wear one or several rings; none wears a necklace. Both beauty and personal appearance are taken note of.

Chans are not institutional, but an occasional boy or girl has one.

- 105 Children of an age group usually play together when small; when older, the sexes play apart. Friendships exist within each group.

Leadership among children is not pronounced. Oratorical ability is taken into consideration when the choice of a leader must be made. Oratory gives distinction to elders, also. Joviality and fun is part of the child's life. A child's sight and powers of observation are keen.

Araucanians have no puberty rites, but cognizance of puberty is taken, for after it a boy is called "young man"; a girl, "young woman." In instances a mother or older sister instructs a girl regarding first menses and motherhood; it is not institutional to do so. There is no taboo regarding menstruating women.

Children by themselves and among themselves are modest. However, their presence at birth or when a machi performs over nude persons is not in accord with standards of modesty of all cultures. Children are taught courtesy in a positive way. They are also taught to give and to share, and are trained to obey an order without hesitation.

Pride in being an Araucanian is inherent in a child, and a child is hurt if reflections are cast upon its status. An occasional child shows jealousy, but one who does stands out prominently. Boasting and tale bearing are practically nonexistent. In general, the schoolchildren I saw had given little thought to their future.

Teasing is one of the chief amusements of children. Not infrequently it leads to quarreling, with an exchange of angry words, accompanied by hitting back and forth. Temper tantrums on the part of small children are ignored; older children seldom display temper.

An occasional child steals. Parents feel disgraced if it does so, and see to it that the stolen object is returned, but without imprecating the thief. Stealing food to satisfy hunger is quite evidently not theft. Not all fathers teach their sons to drink to excess, but none corrects a young son if he becomes intoxicated.

Adult behavior.—As noted above, many adults bathe in flowing water daily in all seasons. No soap or substitute is used except for the hair, for which suds of soap or bark are used. Today most men have a haircut like the Chileans; an occasional man, especially an old cacique, wears it cut ear-lobe length, or he wears it, as formerly, in long braids. A woman's hair is never cut. She parts it, usually over the crown, and then either braids or twists each part. Two plants are used by women as hair tonics.

A man is proud of his mustache. The beard, usually sparse in growth, is depilated. Heavy beards and whiskers are shaved.

In the early days caciques wore a distinct style of earring; other

men, with rare exceptions, wore none. Women wore them, and also neck pieces and bracelets. Formerly men also probably wore bracelets. Nose rings were never worn. Brown is accepted as the Araucanian skin color. Body or face painting was not institutional. A nose like the bill of the bandurria (bird) is a matter of pride; a mother will massage her child's nose to shape it thus. Both men and women have an interest in their personal appearance. 105

Special friendships between two men, a man and a woman, or between two families exist, and find expression in a ceremonial. Courtesy is an outstanding virtue of the Araucanians. In some forms and on specific occasions it must follow conventions. Hospitality among Araucanians themselves and toward strangers is most gracious. Willingness to help can be relied upon, especially in a neighborhood group.

An expression of appreciation of an individual's intelligence is the finest compliment that can be paid the person. Differences in intelligence, however, are recognized. Patience is a virtue of all Araucanians, especially of women. Standards of modesty exist. In general, young women live chaste lives; married women even more so. In general, too, men show respect for women.

Prolonged feuds between families seldom occur, though sporadic quarrels arise. Within the family the father is known to give vent to anger toward his wife and children; he demands obedience from both. Quarreling occurs between persons and families, but not often.

Prolonged quarreling between husband and wife is of rare occurrence, for usually the wife gives in. An occasional one who does not may then be beaten by her husband to the extent that she will hang herself. Outside the family revenge is taken by harming fields or persons through witchcraft. Insulting, vile, and imprecating expressions are used by angry persons. Both suicide and murder occurred, but seldom. Cannibalism was not part of the Araucanian culture.

According to Chilean policemen, Araucanians are law-abiding citizens. Offenses that occasionally warrant arrests are theft and injury inflicted on a non-Araucanian during intoxication. Drinking to excess is done only when in a group. Women rarely drink to excess.

Teaching the child.—Today, as formerly, teachers of the child are its parents and brothers and sisters, with parents as chief instructors; grandparents, only then when they fill the place of parents. Both parents train a small child. As it grows older the mother trains the girl in woman's work, the father, the boy in a man's responsibilities. Both parents share character training.

In general, the small child has great freedom; seldom is it punished. Children learn by direct instruction, by imitating elders in work or

- 105 play, or by actual participation, and by listening in and being non-participant observers. Demonstrations and diagrams are used to clarify instructions. Once old enough to comprehend, the child is taught with intent. Having to repeat information is resented; children are ordered to concentrate upon a thing to be learned.

A child is expected to do the usual things without praise or reward; extraordinary things are praised and, occasionally, rewarded. Small children are corrected with "hstch"; older ones are spoken to in subdued, sometimes stern, words. A child that has reached the age of reason is taught to conform to accepted standards of behavior, and is obliged to do so, by coercion if necessary. Rarely is a child threatened with punishment by supernatural powers, frightened, ridiculed, ignored, mocked, nagged, coaxed, bribed, or compared with other children, in order to force it to conform. Parents are aware that children vary in response to training. No explanation was given for a difficult child.

At present, children have opportunities to attend either private or public schools directed by the Chilean department of education. Attendance is compulsory, and all children attend for at least several years. Parents are more interested in having their sons than their daughters attend school, for sons must be prepared to deal with Chileans.

Mental training.—Araucanian is spoken in homes, unless one parent is non-Araucanian. Dialectic differences occur from area to area. Many children learn at home to read and write Araucanian. Teaching in school is done in Spanish.

Oratory, the ability to carry on formal conversation, and facility in speaking well at any time, are held in esteem. Formerly, every boy was given training in all three; today many are still so trained. Sons of caciques were given special training in oratory and memorizing.

The Araucanian system of counting has no zero. Schoolboys were able to count from 1 to 1,000 in their language. Beginners in school use fingers of both hands when counting, and continue on toes, if the number exceeds ten. No method of keeping count was known to informants of the present study. Cooper's informants reported the use of the knotted cord.

The time of day is reckoned by the position of the sun, or the location of sunrises; shadows are not taken into account in telling time. On cloudy or rainy days, hunger indicates the approximate time of day. At night, time is calculated either before or after the moon at zenith. Days are not grouped into weeks. The moon regulates a span of time equivalent to months, but it is doubtful that the months

had names in the early days. Seasons are noted as they occur. Depending on the informant, there were formerly two, four, five, or seven seasons. Equinoxes, too, are noted. Formerly, years were accounted for by being associated with an important or unusual event. 105

Weather is favorable or unfavorable, depending on the need at the time. Each area studied had its own way of forecasting the weather, which was affected by ocean currents, ocean winds, mountains, and the seasons. Wind is thought to cause lightning. Thunder is God's way of letting the people know that He has been offended. It appears that little significance was attached to stars, constellations, and an eclipse of the moon; an eclipse of the sun formerly omened something undesirable, and does so today. The four cardinal directions are usually indicated by surrounding places (in the Cordillera; at the coast) or locations (near the river; in the valley), rather than by Araucanian words for them.

The pointed end of a cow's horn, a seashell, and a whistle are used in signaling today. (Smoke signaling was recorded by one of Cooper's sources.)

Linear measurements are made by eye, hand, and arm; the Chilean meter, vara, and dawa are also used. Material for clothing is measured by being fitted to the wearer. Quantity measurements are the traditional ones of pinches, handfuls, the head end of an ox horn, to which has been added the Chilean almod. Distance traveled is measured by time consumed in riding there on horseback.

Divisions.—Visiting, outside the family, is done primarily among relatives. Usual topics of conversation are work, and events and news of the day. Araucanians are good conversationalists.

Activities of small children are often enjoyed by parents and others during hours of visiting. Fables are told when children are listening in; other interesting stories are told at any time. When conversation lags, men (never women) play a game of chance with coins. In recent years smoking has become a recreational habit for young people and adults. Children do not smoke.

Musical instruments at present are a whistle, a wind instrument, and two types of bagle; none of these was used, traditionally, for recreational purposes. According to Cooper's sources, a basketry drum, a drum made of a tree trunk, a flute, and a panpipe should be added to the above. I heard the guitar and harmonica played as accompaniment to songs and social dances. Social dancing is not traditional; the singing of folk songs and ballads is.

Competitive and other games were played by children, young people,

105 and adults. These included tag, tossing a handkerchief, spinning tops, "play of the retractor," marbles, quita, hockey, and football.

Toys, including dolls, were not part of the Arruacian child's play life; sticks and stones, chicks and kittens were. Initiative play, such as riding horses, playing house, or visiting, and playing getting drunk, are favorite pastimes of small children. Older boys play with marbles, balls, and tops. Older girls mold marbles, miniature pottery, and whistles for spinles.

In general, children like animals and treat them kindly. Chicks and kittens may be pets; hawks seldom are; dogs, never—not even of older boys; older boys favor horses. Very rarely is a wild animal tamed and enjoyed as a pet; rabbits, never. Children identify wild birds and tell of animals that talk to each other.

According to Cooper's sources Arruacians were excellent swimmers and divers. Today every boy and girl learns to ride horseback. Boys shoot with slingshots.

Health.—Maintaining the good will of others so that sickness will not be brought upon one by them, and chasing the spirits of ill health from the area by means of a dramatic performance are the only preventives of ill health known. All ill health is believed to be inflicted by poisoning or by persons who are believed to have power to do so through Uwak art.

Midwives, professed herbalists, and machi (shamans, both men and women) possess knowledge of medicinal herbs, roots, and bark. Such knowledge originates in dreams; it can be shared with others or be taught by them. Household remedies are known to lay persons. Curatives are decoctions, poultices, heat, vapor baths, inhalations, and bloodletting. Curatives not used are bloodsucking, sweating in a sweat lodge, and tattooing. Personal medicines and change of name are not resorted to as restorative measures. Sick children are treated in the same manner as adults, except that decoctions are weaker.

A machi is called upon to perform when home curatives have failed. In rare instances a machi performs over a sick child. The performance is at night.

A machi studies to be a professional one of his own volition, or because parents choose the profession as a life's work for a child, or because of a compulsive dream. Shamanistic powers are learned during an apprenticeship with a professional shaman, but a candidate can learn new skills independently from some invisible source and also enhance them by exchange with other shamans. Shamanistic powers are renewed annually when the captives are in bloom.

Psychosis is rare. It is believed to be brought about by the will of

another through evil spirits, as a retaliation. Children of low mental-105
ity, too, are rare.

Marriage.—Until recent years polygyny was the customary form of marriage, with two wives as the prevailing number. A man could, however, marry as many women as he was able to pay the bride price for. Today polygynous marriages are linked at a distance, but there were several such marriages in each area.

Simultaneous wives sometimes lived in one ruka; each wife then had her own fireplace, or occasionally all wives used the same one. More often, probably, each wife lived in a separate ruka. Wives, in some instances, took turns cooking for all the families of a husband; in other instances, each wife cooked for her own children only. The first wife a man married gave orders to his other wives and had priority rights in other matters. Although, in general, simultaneous wives lived peacefully, occasionally trying situations, with consequent suicide by one of the wives, occurred.

Polyandry was never part of the Araucanian culture. In all probability there was no wife lending, despite Cooper's sources. The idea of daughter lending was repulsive. Promiscuity occurred, and occurs today, but is rare. Incestuousness among young men was reported as a common thing.

Cousin-cousin marriage is institutional, with preference for marriage between a woman's children and those of her brother. Prohibited marriages are those between parallel cousins, between children of one wife (in case of simultaneous wives) and those of another wife, between a man and one of his father's widows, between a man and his paternal or maternal grandmother, and between a woman and her paternal or maternal grandfather. Both sororate and levirate were institutional, but not obligatory.

Partners were of marriageable age when they had reached the twenties; most men were married before they reached the thirties. In general, the man was a few years older than the first woman he married. This is still the case today. Second wives were usually much younger than the man.

A desirable wife is one who can do the work expected of a woman; a man is ready for marriage when he knows how to support a family and has the wherewithal to do so. There is a proper procedure in the choice of a mate and an accepted traditional marriage ceremonial with payment of the bride price. Kidnapping and eloping, too, are traditional, but they are not considered proper ways to marry. Today, the accepted traditional way is seldom followed. If a young man is unable to pay the bride price, or is unwilling to do so, and finds his

● 105

father in agreement with him, an elopement follows. Occasionally a woman was, and is today, forced into marriage entirely against her will. If an unmarried girl becomes pregnant, she will nearly always go to the home of the man who is the father of her child. She may or may not be accepted there. Today a civil marriage is performed preceding a religious one in accordance with Chilean law. Many today marry without a ceremony of any kind. Love charms are known but are seldom used today; it is doubtful that they were ever used extensively.

Formal divorce is not a custom; separation by agreement is, but it is rare; desertions occur more often. In either case children are taken care of. Infidelity on the wife's part was rare, but a husband was justified in whipping or dismissing a wife who had been or was suspected of having been unfaithful. Such a woman's face was not disfigured, but in Panguipulli area the husband was known to have cut the hair off one side of an unfaithful wife's head.

According to Colharipe informants mother-in-law-son-in-law taboos are institutional; so are father-in-law-daughter-in-law taboos, but to a lesser degree. Alepie and Panguipulli area informants insisted that neither ever existed. Joking relationships were probably not conventional.

Religion and supernatural powers.—The Supreme Being, the only deity, is spoken of as the creator of the world, or master of the land, or ruler of the earth, and as the ruler of the world, or lord of all creation, or master or ruler of men. According to Cooper's sources, the Supreme Being did not concern Himself with the moral order; nor did the state of souls in the future life depend on reward or punishment meted out by Him.

The appearance or essence of the Supreme Being had not been given much thought. He had with Him in His shade a woman, and these two had sons and daughters. The location of the shade was not known. The Supreme Being was prayed to either directly, or through the woman or the deceased leaders of the tribal religious ceremonial, or the deceased machi.

Private prayer, often accompanied by small sacrificial offerings, was not uncommon. Belief in a guardian spirit is not part of the Araucanian culture. Belief in personal power of supernatural origin, however, is. The belief in malignant spirits is pre-Christian. The belief in a place of punishment or wrongdoing is of recent origin.

The tribal religious ceremony—a celebration with sacrificial offerings and prayers lasting several days—was formerly held several times each year; more recently, only once a year, or when the need

indicates it. It is held for the welfare of all the people, especially those attending the ceremonial. 105

Black art is practiced by witches, both men and women, upon persons or property, in revenge. Witches are hired and exercise their art through an object as a medium. Being a witch is not a profession, such as being a machi is, but occasionally a machi is a witch, also.

Conjuring is ascribed to the machi, but it does not seem to have been resorted to often. Both good and bad magic were believed in, but neither seems to have had any great significance.

Death, and belief in life after death.—Mortuary calls of certain animals forecast death. Death is unfailingly caused by poisoning, except in cases of accident, violence, or suicide. In Colapuyo area, having oneself photographed is also believed to be a cause of death.

Beliefs of a dying person are announced and remain until after the burial. The dying person is generally dressed in his best clothes. There are no facial or skin decorations. Formerly, personal silver accessories were buried with the person. According to Casper's account the rites and observances connected with death and mourning were complex and differed somewhat according to period and region, and also according to the rank, status, sex, and age of the deceased. Only a few of the customs recorded by him exist today.

Women and children in Panguipulli and Colapuyo areas, but not in Aysén area, attend burials. Burials of related families have always been in the same cemetery. Formerly each grave had a wooden marker; today, nearly every grave has a cross at the head end.

The shade of the dead was believed to be in the wilderness. The journey there begins immediately after death, but an occasional spirit haunts the ruins it inhabited in life, and also the area about it, and does amazing things. Only vague ideas regarding life after death exist.

Formerly, there were no exterior signs of mourning; today, customs of Chileans are often followed.

Tribal government.—Formerly, the cacique was the head of the local unit of government, that is, an area occupied generally by related families. He was assisted by men of his choice. Laws were made by the male population, acting as a body, but the cacique was responsible for their interpretation and enforcement. At the cacique's death his eldest son inherited his place, unless the people did not recognize this son as an able man, in which case another son was designated; or if no son was considered capable, a man from another family was selected. When the men assembled to select a cacique, women had the right to express an opinion.

Although a cacique had no symbols of power, he was easily dis-

105 Capishale is a gathering by a stone suspended from his neck, and by a distinct sowing which he wore.

Although the present-day government is influenced, and sometimes controlled, by Chilean provincial and national governments, Chilean authorities recognize the relationship of the cacique to his people, and consider him at least a liaison between themselves and his people. A cacique, today as formerly, presides at meetings of his people, presents their requests to Chilean Government officials, and sets the date for the performance of the tribal religious ceremonial. Formerly, it appears, a cacique could take land from one who had more than he needed and give it to someone who stood in need of it. Formerly, too, offenders were punished by their cacique. If an offense involved persons subject to more than one cacique, joint action was taken by the caciques concerned. At present the Chilean Government enforces law and order.

Today, an Aracuanian man who possesses an identification card, which the Chilean Government issues to any man eligible to vote who requests one, has the privilege of voting at all Chilean elections; a woman holding such a card may vote at local elections, a right of all eligible Chilean women. Aracuanians men vote; no one knew of an Aracuanian woman who had done so. Taxes are levied by the Chilean Government as land owned by Aracuanians.

Land, subsistence, and trade.—Aracuanians were, and are, land-owners—they are an agricultural and grazing people. There are no villages. Usually, related families live within an area limited by natural boundaries. Within this area land claimed by individuals or families is marked off by fences or natural boundaries. Uncultivated and wooded lands are owned in common. Worked land is cleared by burning.

Formerly, each cacique had a record of owners of land in his area; today ownership is recorded with the Chilean Government, and every owner is expected to hold a Government-issued deed to lands he claims. Aracuanians today are also subject to Chilean inheritance laws regarding land. Aracuanians fear that recent Chilean legislation regarding their land is jeopardizing their ownership of it.

No Aracuanian claims exclusive rights to areas where crops are grown, or to lands of rivers from which fishing is done, shores of the Pacific where mollusks are gathered, or areas on the Pacific coast where fishing boats are landed and dry-docked.

Until recent years seeds of wild grass, now rarely cultivated, were harvested as food, but wheat was also cultivated. According to Goshel, agricultural implements formerly used were the wooden bar

or pick, the wooden spade or shovel, and perforated stones for smelting lumps of earth; today a wooden or metal plow drawn by man is the chief implement. Cultivated lands today, as formerly, lie in level-terraced areas or natural glades. Fields are not fertilized but are allowed to lie fallow for one or two seasons. Sowing is done by hand. Both fields and gardens, many below, should be planted when the moon is waning. Fences are a part both of planting and of harvest time.

Grain is cut with a sickle, unless a small amount is needed before harvest time, in which case ears are plucked by hand, as formerly. Usually harvesting is done by all the family. Formerly threshing was done by persons tramping on ears of grain to the rhythm of songs, or by horses tramping on the ears in an enclosure; both methods are used today. In Chile, in 1947, threshing was done by a steam-propelled machine owned by Chileans. Threshing done, an abundant meal is served with an accompaniment of chicha.

Each family plants a good-sized potato patch and a garden of vegetables; many gardens have plants used in medicine. Fruit trees are often found near gardens, and so are flowers.

In the early days, according to Cooper's account, domesticated animals were the dog, llama, guanaco, and maybe the guinea pig; neither cats nor sheep were kept. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, horses, cattle, sheep, pigs, and chickens were raised; and after the middle of the century, the horse. Today domesticated animals are horses, cats, cattle, sheep, chickens, turkeys, guinea pigs, dogs, and cats. These animals are owned by children.

Horses, cattle, and sheep are bred to show ownership. These animals are not placed under shelter, but sheep are put into corrals to protect them against yacans. Cowing bells are attached along a man's side, and are found in, as are wheat fields and gardens. Medicinal remedies for sick animals are known.

Hunting and trapping, according to Cooper's account, played a minor role in Araucarian economy; they are practically nonexistent today. The bear and mouse, the dog, and the two-killed birds were used as weapons in the early days; mouse, shellfish, potatoes, and cats were also used. The yacans were hunted with dogs. Old informants described the raising of mouse and shellfish and the making of traps.

According to Cooper's account, fish were taken with nets, gaffs, and baskets baited and put under water. Gaffs, bows and hooks, spears, clubs, and knives; small lagoons and still waters in streams were poisoned.

Fish and shellfish were, and still are, an important Araucarian

●105 dietary element. Today Aikele and Bura men fish in the Pacific; Panguipulli and Collipico men, in Andean streams. Women along the Pacific collect shellfish.

Formerly the llama served as a pack animal; today the horse is used. Light loads are often carried by persons on or under the arms, and in baskets or netted bags on the back or head, or by hand. Heavy loads are hauled in carts or dragged by men. Carts are made of wood; an occasional one has wagon wheels.

Short distances, today, are traveled on foot over well-trodden paths; longer distances are covered on horseback. All horseback riders sit astride in saddles constructed for riding up and down steep grades.

The traditional water crafts—the plank boat, dugout, and balsas—were in use during the present study. Generally, however, rivers are forded on foot, horseback, or on cart. Occasionally one or several logs serve as a footbridge over a creek or narrow stream. Bridges built by Chileans are also used.

In general, only men travel to Chilean trading centers; women and girls seldom go there. Often a son accompanies his father.

In all areas today, articles are bartered and borrowed, as in times past. Araucanians had no currency formerly; today Chilean money is used to purchase commodities not produced. Such money is obtained by selling to Chileans such things as domesticated animals, seafoods, woven products, felled trees, wheat (when the harvest has been abundant), or by working as hired help. Money is borrowed by mortgaging land, corn, or cattle.

Food, shelter, clothing.—Foods are eaten uncooked, boiled, roasted, baked, smoked, and dried. Cooking is done today, as formerly, over a fire in a shallow pit in the rocks or, weather permitting, outdoors. Firewood that gives off a minimum of smoke is favored. Cooking lutes are hung from a raft, which is either suspended over the fireplace from rafters or is supported there on poles planted in the ground. Implements used in the preparation and consumption of food are traditional ones of wood, stone, earth, animal parts, and plant fibers, and commercially obtained ones of enamel, porcelain, zinc, iron, and copper.

Wild plants, today as formerly, form a substantial part of the Araucanian diet. Wild honey is often collected and used to sweeten foods.

Wheat, a basic food, is prepared in traditional dishes; so are potatoes, another important food. Beef, mutton, lamb, pork, chicken, and, occasionally, wild birds and game are roasted or are cooked with vegetables or wild plants to make thick soups or stews. Three favorite dishes of sheep or lamb are spiced lung; coagulated blood, well sea-

soned and fried or cooked with vegetables; and stomach and entrails, either fresh or smoked. Since fresh meat is available when desired, meat is not stored; an oversupply is dried over the fire and eaten soon afterward. Fish are baked or smoked. Favored dishes are prepared from shellfish and sea algae. Butter and eggs are not relished; milk is made into cheese in a manner learned from non-Araucanians.

Drinking water is brought from springs—rukas are built where there is an uncontaminated, clear, cool spring. At the end of a meal yerba maté is drunk, unless chicha is at hand; in the early days mudai was the beverage.

Formerly, two meals were eaten each day, a custom which still prevails. All the family eats together, seated around the fireplace either on folded sheep pelts or on low benches, stools, or tree-trunk sections. A woman serves her husband first, then the children, then herself.

The ruka, the home of the Araucanian, is generally smaller today than formerly, for the prevailing monogamous marriages no longer require ruka to house a man's several families. An occasional family today has two rukas, one for sleeping and storage and one for cooking and working. Three types of ruka were observed during the present study: one completely of thatch, one with roof of thatch and sides of planks, and one with sides of planks and roof of logs. Ruka today, in general, are rectangular in ground plan, and gable-roofed or lean-to in shape; formerly, according to Cooper's sources, they were oval, polygonal, or rectangular in ground plan.

Ruka have no chimney or windows; each has one entrance—some have several. More than one entrance permits the one facing unfavorable winds to be closed. Men assist each other in building the ruka. At the completion of one, a plentiful meal is served, and usually there is excessive drinking of chicha. A ruka belongs to the family, but is spoken of as belonging to the father.

The interior of a ruka is unfinished. It is lighted and heated by the fireplace which is usually a little to the front of the middle of the ruka. In this location the heat does not reach potatoes and wheat stored in the rear. Sleeping is done in corners and along walls, on pelts on the ground, unless the family has a second ruka used for sleeping. Occasionally a family has low platform beds. Coverings are homespun and homewoven blankets. A rolled-up poncho or a piece of wood serves as a pillow.

Storage space is within the ruka, in the rear of it, and on lofts, shelves, and tables. Containers used are boxes, bins, dug-out tree trunks, baskets, netted bags, gourds, animal paunches and udders,

● 105 pottery, wooden containers, and modern ones. Formerly, according to Cooper's sources, hill caves were used for storage also. The ruka are orderly and clean; and so are adjoining yards. Brooms of grass or vines were being used.

The traditional clothing for men and boys was a sleeveless sweater, a piece of cloth secured at the waist and drawn between the legs to form pants, and a poncho. Women and girls wore a piece of cloth fastened on one or both shoulders and tied about the waist with a belt, and a shawl.

Today, with few exceptions, men, both old and young, wear pants, shirt, often a coat, and a poncho; married women more often wear the traditional clothing with a long-sleeved waist added; younger women, the dress worn by Chileans. At work, men are usually barefoot; shoes are worn by those who can afford them at fiestas, church services, and when among Chileans in trading places. Women are usually barefoot. Hats are worn by most men and many boys. Women wear silver accessories on special occasions.

A schoolboy today generally wears knee-length pants, shirt, and poncho; a schoolgirl, a dress of calico made in the Chilean style, and a shawl. Rarely do boys or girls wear shoes.

Clothes are washed in running water by being slapped with a wooden implement on flat rocks or boards. Drying is done on bushes and fences near the ruka.

Domestic handicrafts.—Both men and women shear sheep. Several days before shearing, women pour a decoction on each sheep while men work the wool with the hands. Wool is stored by being hung on fences. Preparatory to using it, boiling water is poured over it, after which it is worked with the hands in swift running water, and vigorously swished back and forth in it to free it of dirt and little sticks. No soap or substitute is used.

All women and girls and many boys spin wool into yarn; men rarely do so. The spindle is a single piece of wood with a slight groove near the upper end, and a whorl near the lower end. The spinner is seated with the lower end of the spindle on the ground and the upper end held loosely in the right hand. The wool is wound around the left arm and twisted into the desired thickness between index finger and thumb of right hand, and the spindle is rotated to spin the yarn. Two strands of yarn are twirled when it is to be used in weaving ponchos.

Yarn, not wool, is dyed. Dyes are obtained from native plants and from earth, and are bought at Chilean stores. Certain bright colors can be produced by boiling the yarn in a decoction of certain plants previous to dyeing, but most are obtained by the use of commercial dyes.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957

SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

WHOLE VOL. ARAUCANIAN CHILD LIFE—HILGER

257

Native dyes are generally set by boiling the yarn in a mixture containing human urine; commercial dyes, in a solution of alum and water. Women do the dyeing. Today dyeing is done in kettles used for cooking; formerly it was done in ollas. 105 ●

Weaving is done on rectangular looms by women and older girls. Articles woven are ponchos, cloth for women's clothes, belts, headbands, blankets, throws, and saddle covers. Designs used have no significance; they are generally conventional ones, often merely stripes.

Traditional basketry products in use during the present study were the wilal (a carrying bag), the küllko (a carrying and storage basket), the chaiwe (a sieving, drainage, filtering, and storage basket), and the llepü (a winnowing tray). These were made of plant fibers. Wilal are netted by adults and children; women specialists weave küllko and twine chaiwe; men coil llepü.

Women make pottery by the coil method, without decorations. The traditional olla (potlike container) and the cántaro (juglike container) are made today from brown and black clay with finely ground pumice used as adhesive. Since the olla is used as a cooking vessel, it is fired to a greater degree than is the cántaro which is used to carry and store water. Silver-smithing, it appears, is a lost art.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957

SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

WHOLE VOL. ARAUCANIAN CHILD LIFE—HILGER

381

Decorations, if any, were painted or incised designs of lines and dots. The curator of Museo Nahuel Humpi believed them due to Quechua influence. No informant had painted designs on pottery, nor did any informant remember seeing anyone else do so. None attached any meaning to the designs. Informants had heard old persons say, however, that painting was done before pottery was fired. Paint was made by cooking earth with specific plants and then working the mash thoroughly with the hands. Dark blue was obtained by cooking earth with stems of maqui or michai; guanaco color, by cooking earth with bark of maitén. Black earth was used for black, "but we got it from the south; it is not found here."



FIG. 10.—Pottery designs. (Sketches made from potsherds the writer picked up at a grave disturbed by workmen digging a ditch near Collón C6.)

Potsherds of a dark color thrown out of a grave by workmen while digging a ditch near Collón C6 in 1951 were decorated either with obliquely incised line designs, incised ridges, or elevated bands (fig. 10). One potsherd, painted white, is decorated with both horizontal and oblique brown lines.

SUMMARY

It is not clear whether the Araucanians in Argentina are indigenous or whether they migrated there from what is now Chile. In pre-Spanish days the Argentine Araucanians were hunters; in post-Spanish days they raised sheep, cattle, and horses, and were, to a small degree, interested in horticulture and agriculture. Today, having been dispossessed of their lands, they lease land for cultivation and grazing purposes. The Argentine Araucanians, along with the Chilean Araucanians, form the Araucanian linguistic family.

105 *Prenatal factors.*—No cause of sterility was known; nor was a way of producing fertility known. There was no knowledge regarding contraceptive devices. Children were considered a blessing. In families of informants there were from 6 to 15 children. An occasional family had as many as 20 children.

Prenatal period.—Pregnancy was counted by moons; at the third moon the fetus was considered to be a person; at the ninth moon birth was expected. In all probability, sex preference was not institutional. There was no way of producing sex, but sex was predicted during pregnancy. There was no belief in reincarnation. The father of an unborn child is not hampered by either food or conduct taboos or prescriptions; his pregnant wife is.

Childbirth.—The home, that is the toldo, was the proper place for the birth of the child. In summer, on rare occasions, delivery took place in a shelter erected near the toldo. The unmarried mother delivered her child usually in an unfrequented place. There were no professional midwives. The woman's mother always assisted with the birth. In dire necessity, a man performed the services of midwifery in the delivery of his own child. The woman's husband and her father, and occasionally her children, were present at the delivery. The unmarried mother was alone except for a woman friend.

In general, women took no decoctions to facilitate birth, for deliveries were usually easy. In cases of prolonged labor, the woman was given a nauseating preparation or was encouraged to produce abdominal contraction by blowing. The woman kneels during delivery, clutching an upright pole or pulling a rope. Births today are recorded in conformity with Argentine law.

Both premature and stillbirths occurred, but both were very rare. A dead fetus was removed by the assisting woman. The navel is given no treatment. Formerly the navel cord was dried and either stored or given in powdered form to the child when sick; today, it is buried inside the house near the wall. If there is difficulty in ejecting the placenta, the woman either is given a specific decoction or is made to gag. The placenta is buried near the wall of the house, either inside or outside; in several instances in recent years it was discarded as refuse.

If a child was born with a caul—a rare occurrence—it was expected to grow up to be intelligent. The caul was dried and either stored in the house, or buried within or near it.

Mother's milk is used to sterilize the baby's eyes, generally; occasionally, today, aniline dye is used. Fontanels should close before the

child begins to walk. Skull formation was not practiced, but face molding was. 105 ●

Occasionally today, as formerly, the mother takes the child, following delivery, and bathes herself and it in the waters of a stream (it is believed that the child will benefit physically by the bath), but more often the baby is bathed in lukewarm water by the woman who assists at delivery.

Postnatal interests.—Noses were not pierced. Every child had its ears pierced, formerly, when it was given its name. Relatives were invited as guests on this occasion. There was no conventional ear piercer. Occasionally (for the benefit of the child, so it was believed) either grandmother, and sometimes others, at the ear-piercing feast pierced the skin on the back of her own hand, a performance known as *katawe*. Today, generally, only a girl's ears are pierced.

To prevent or cure chafing the sap of specific plants was applied to the baby; grease was not used; today, commercial talcum powder is used. Diapers were either homewoven cloth, woven especially for the purpose or cut from worn-down material, or softened skin of guanaco or lamb untanned and closely clipped. A child able to speak is expected to tell its toilet needs.

The baby's first clothing was a wrap of guanaco or lamb skin if the diaper was cloth; or cloth, if the diaper was guanaco or lamb skin. A woven band was used in swaddling.

Generally the cradle was made by the father for the first child and kept in the family for subsequent children. The baby spent most of its waking hours swaddled and lashed to it, with the cradle in erect position resting against some object; at night, it slept with its mother out of its cradle. It was transported by its mother on horseback, in its cradleboard, with the cradle either resting in front of the mother or being tied securely to her back. A mother traveling on foot carried her baby in her arms. An older child was often transported on the back of an adult. A hammock for a small child was suspended indoors or outdoors. Both burdened- and nonsense-syllabled lullabies were sung to babies.

Nothing was done to develop early growth of teeth. Inflamed gums were washed with a decoction—today young mothers use vinegar. If a teething child ran a temperature, its gums were rubbed with unwashed wool of black sheep; young mothers today use commercial alum. No significance was attached to the appearance or the loss of the first tooth. Both deciduous and second teeth were buried in the table when they came out.

● 105

The baby's first smile is noticed, but has no significance. Usually a child was not permitted to creep; when it reached the creeping stage, it was taught to stand. A mother uses several methods to teach it to walk. A toddler old enough to run away is tied to a stationary object with a rope long enough to give it freedom of movement. Neither creeping nor walking is celebrated as an event.

Nothing is done to bring about early speech development. The mother teaches the child to speak, beginning with words.

Nursing and weaning.—A mother nurses the child until it is about 2 years old, unless an unusual situation arises. The mother sustained her milk flow by eating much nourishing food; she ate no beef, however, because it was believed to make a nursing mother sick. No decoction was given to increase milk flow. A child was nursed on an indicated or demand schedule, but never when there was a snake about the place. A child old enough to hold something in its hands is given a piece of meat from which to suck the essence. It is given soups about this time also. As soon as it can swallow heavier foods, the mother masticates meat for it. When it has teeth, it is expected to eat foods eaten by adults.

A child is weaned either gradually by accustoming it to food other than mother's milk or abruptly by placing it with relatives or neighbors for several days, and, upon its return to its mother, discouraging nursing by treating the nipples with a plant repellent. Fur repellent was not used. The postnursing milk must be poured into a brook, since this will give the mother the capacity to nurse other children that may yet be born to her.

Atypical conditions.—Twins, but no other multiple births, were known to have occurred; twins have been born in recent times. They may be both of the same sex, or one of each. There was no way of predicting them. According to most informants twins were not wanted, but never were they killed. Twins had no special way of talking.

No information on incest was collected. Illegitimacy was formerly a rare thing. The family of a girl who had an illegitimate child lost status in the community, and the cacique had the right to take the life of the paramour, if the parents of the girl insisted. A child born to an unmarried girl was known as a "natural" child. It was reared in its mother's home, if born there (which rarely happened), or by its grandparents or other sympathetic adults.

Rarely was a child born deformed. Infanticide was not practiced. A child that cries persistently is thought to be sick, and is given either medicinal preparations used for children or diluted doses of those

taken by adults. A ceremonial known as *machitun* was formerly performed over critically ill persons, including children. A sympathetic adult may perform the *katawe* on himself, if a child is injured. No person was known to be color blind or to stutter; left-handed men and women existed. 105 ●

There was no formal adoption of children, but an orphan or a child from a broken home was reared by relatives. An adult who spoke of small children, especially of babies, could expect one to be brought to him to be reared. Captives were taken and reared by both Araucanians and Argentines in time of war.

Nomes.—A name, usually that of a deceased relative, was given the child on the occasion of the piercing of its ears. The name was selected by either or both parents. If the father did not announce the child's name to those present, one of the grandmothers did so. No prayers were said, nor was there a ceremony. The origin of Araucanian names was not known to informants; some names lent themselves to translation, others did not. Feminine names differed from masculine ones. A woman's given name was generally not used when speaking of her. Until recent years there were no surnames. Adults, both men and women, but not children, were given nicknames.

The family.—A family had status in the community if it conformed to established law and order, followed the accepted pattern of behavior, and maintained its economic independence. The man dominated the family, but his wife or wives, in case of multiple wives, and the children had a status of importance and individuality within the family. Peace usually reigned in the family if there was no resistance to the man's authority. In the event of a disagreement, the wife usually gave in.

Parents love their children, provide for them, teach and train them, and assist their sons in the choice of a mate. Children respect their parents and provide for them when necessary. Among themselves, children, in general, are agreeable.

Children's behavior.—A girl's hair is not cut; a boy's is. Children have keen sight and hearing. They are courteous to each other and to strangers, and most respectful to older persons, having been taught to be so by parents. They are also taught to be helpful; not to be hateful or jealous; not to quarrel—persistent quarrelers are punished, usually whipped. Talk bearers are listened to, but ignored if the matter is of no importance. Obedience is demanded by parents of all children, formerly even after they become adults and married. If a child persists in disobeying after having been whipped, his blood is let, the belief being that his blood is bad.

105

Children rarely lie; they were and are taught not to. If a child steals, it is made to return the stolen thing. A boy's personality was predicted from his conduct while he was under the influence of an intoxicating beverage. With the express permission of the father, men in their twenties drank to intoxication. Chums were not institutional; lifelong friendships occasionally existed. No sex instructions were given, but in rare instances a girl was told the purpose of menstruation. At first menses, but not at any subsequent ones, the girl was isolated in a corner of the toldo. There was no puberty rite for boys. Two institutional performances were, however, sometimes transacted when a boy's voice had changed, namely a personality prediction test and one known as *katan kawifi*—one similar to the *katawe*.

Adult behavior.—A low hairline, an Araucanian trait, and facial hair are not desired; both are removed. Bathing is done daily by many; hair is washed whenever a bath is taken. Formerly, personal adornments of both men and women were silver bracelets, earrings, necklaces, rings, and studding on belts. Women also used silver stick-pins and hair ornaments; men often decorated with silver their saddles, stirrups, bridles, and the handles of long knives.

Modesty in women was highly esteemed; it was taught to girls. Courtesy, helpfulness, and hospitality were also taught and were met with everywhere during the present study, especially where old persons dominated the situation. Pride, especially pride in one's intelligence, is one of the predominating characteristics. Feeble-mindedness is exceedingly rare. Anger is seldom displayed, but once aroused it is vociferous. There was very little quarreling, probably because of early training.

Murder by violence was a rare thing; death by poisoning as revenge was more frequent. Death as a penalty was institutional. Profane expressions were not used; words of imprecation and insult were. Suicides occur occasionally, usually due to sadness. A woman commits suicide by hanging herself; a man, by cutting his throat or stabbing his abdomen and, in more recent years, by using a revolver.

The word of an adult can generally be relied upon. Seldom was anything stolen in the early days; in cases of theft the *cacique* ordered that the stolen article be returned. Today, there is seldom anything stolen from an Araucanian; but sheep are occasionally stolen from non-Araucanians. Drinking to intoxication, formerly, was a communal affair; today individuals drink to excess whenever sufficient *chicha* or wine can be obtained.

Teaching the child.—Parents were the primary instructors of the child. Methods used were those of direct verbal instruction, observa-

tion and participation, and sharing responsibilities. Today children attend local rural or village state schools. 105

In general, small children grew up without much interference by adults. Customarily a child was not rewarded for work well done; usually the adult interested the child in what it was expected to do. Compulsions consisted in talking to the child in a serious manner, scolding it, and, if necessary, switching it.

Mental training.—Araucanian is spoken in homes, unless one of the parents is non-Araucanian. School-age children and all adults, except very old persons, speak Spanish, also. Informants told of methods used by their Spanish conquerors to teach them the Spanish language. Dialectic differences were pointed out; so were words incorporated from the Spanish, Quechua, Aymara, and Guarani languages. There was no written language in the early days. Pictographs found on rocks in the areas are ascribed to unknown peoples. Oratory, a highly esteemed ability, was formally taught.

Children count on fingers, and on toes if a greater number than 10 is being counted. Numerals range from 1 to 1,000; there is no zero.

Time of day is told rather accurately by the lengthening of shadows; on sunless days time is merely guessed. The divisions of the day are based on the position of the sun, and are so named. Days were not named, nor were they grouped into weeks. When necessary, days were counted, as each one passed, by tying a knot in a cord or thong. One's age was associated with events of general interest. Seasons had names.

Weather forecasts were possible for only particular local areas because of land contours and altitudes, except for such general forecasts as that a very red moon indicated hot weather; black clouds, rain.

An eclipse of the moon or sun predicted disaster. The morning and the evening stars and several constellations were identified by names.

Signaling was done by smoke in the daytime, by fire at night, and by the sounds of the *tratraka* at all times.

Linear measurements were parts of a finger, hand stretches, arm stretches, and distances between hands. Lengths were often noted by knots made in a strand of yarn, which served as a measuring tape. Measurements on the ground were stepped off. Today, a meter is also used for linear measurements. Clothes were fitted to the person for whom they were intended.

Quantity measurements were pinches, single handfuls, and double handfuls.

Diversions.—Visiting was, and still is, a popular pastime. Generally

105 conversation during visiting is about current topics of interest, but legends and stories are also told. Children are always listeners-in; sometimes legends are told for their benefit. During visits older men usually smoked a mixture of plant substances in pottery pipes. Today a cigarette is usually passed from person to person.

Formalized conversation was carried on when a woman's immediate family paid its first visit to her after her marriage; at the time of her marriage she moved to her husband's toldo.

Musical instruments were a drum, a wind instrument, two types of whistles, a tune pipe, rattles, and an instrument made of the lower jaw of a horse. There were no traditional recreational dances; today, modern dances of the Argentines are participated in.

A game of chance was played by men, and by boys among themselves. A competitive game, known as chueca, is still played by opposing teams from different areas.

Small children played with sticks, stones, or insects, and when a little older, with tops and other things that they themselves could make or find about the place. Dolls were not part of a girl's play life. Domesticated animals were not pets, but a young orphaned guanaco or then was raised and became one. Today, an occasional child has a kitten or cat, a dog, or a chicken as a pet.

All children learned to swim; today, mostly boys do so. Formerly, all children rode horseback, and many do today.

Health.—Certain measures taken when children were young, it was believed, would insure good health and result in long life. If ill health occurred in either children or adults it was ascribed to sorcery. It was believed that sorcerers had either put poison into one's food or had inflicted harm in a mysterious way from a distance. Antidotes known to others or to the sorcerer had to be applied in the early stages of sickness if a cure was to be effected. Often it was jealousy that prompted use of sorcery to cause sickness. Mental ill health was exceedingly rare. If it occurred, it, too, was blamed on sorcery. The inflicting sorcerer knew the antidote.

The sick were treated by herbalists who were specialists, and also by machi who were either both herbalists and sorcerers or only sorcerers. Machi and herbalists were of both sexes. The machi exercised their curative powers during a performance known as machitun.

Herbalists, as specialists, are practically nonexistent today; but plants and other things used as household remedies are known to many, even to children. The human anatomy is not well known.

Marriage.—Formerly, a cacique had three or more wives; commoners not infrequently had two. Simultaneous wives were seldom

sisters. Each wife with her children lived either in a section of one large toldo, or in a separate toldo, or in one of several attached toldos.

Cross-cousin marriages were not institutional. Preferential marriages were those between persons of the same jurisdiction. All other marriages were tolerated, but not favored. Informants had not heard of the levirate or sororate. In the early days men were usually in their thirties when they married; women, past 25; men sometimes married a last time when about 80 years of age.

Traditionally, the proper way to arrange a marriage was for the man to tell his parents of his wish to marry a certain girl and for his parents then to speak to the girl's parents about it—the girl's wishes were seldom consulted. The girl's parents talked it over, but it was her father that gave consent and set the bride price. In more recent times, the man himself has obtained the consent of the girl's parents. Today, often the man asks the girl directly, and then together they ask the consent of the girl's parents. Child betrothal occurred, but whether or not it was institutional was not ascertained. Elopement was never considered proper form.

Objects used as love charms were not known, but sorcery was exercised to obtain love. In recent years, young girls have sought to learn the kind of husband that might be theirs through the interpretation of ink or soot blotches. The families of both sides participated in the marriage ceremonial.

Desertions were, and still are, very rare. In cases of infidelity, formerly, the paramour of an unfaithful wife, especially of a cacique's wife, was usually killed.

A formalized welcome was given the relatives of a woman on their first visit to her after her marriage, as already stated. Mother-in-law-son-in-law taboos were institutional, but not so father-in-law-daughter-in-law or mother-in-law-daughter-in-law taboos. No evidence was found that joking relationships were institutional.

Religion.—The belief in God as creator and the belief in God as one interested in the welfare of the people both exist. God is addressed as "father of all" during the tribal ceremonial, the *yillatun*. There are no minor deities. A woman said to be with God is not a deity, informants insisted; nor are stones resembling figurines, to which something akin to veneration is shown. Private prayers were said to avert harm and to obtain favors. During thunderstorms they were, and are, accompanied with a small offering of anything edible. In one place, a special dance was performed to avert floods. No informants claimed personal supernatural powers, or knew of anyone who did so except sorcerers.

105 The tribal religious ceremonial is a 2-day public community prayer, accompanied by sacrifice, offered as a petition for the welfare of all the people and as a thanksgiving for blessings received. The cacique is the officiating officer. Generally the ceremonial is held following seeding time and at harvest time. Prayers are directed to God as the father of all and to the woman in heaven as the mother of all. Sacred dances are performed to the rhythm of a drum.

Sorcerers were of both sexes. They are sometimes hired by jealous persons to perform their black art. There is a belief in *holgullins* and visions.

Death, and belief in life after death.—Death is omened. Sorcery is believed to be its cause, unless it is known that violence, accident, or secret poisoning has caused it. Relatives attend a death, and remain until after the burial. Burials may have been in caves; it is known that they have been in cemeteries for generations past. Bodies found in excavated graves are in supine position. All early burials face the rising sun. Personal belongings, including a man's horse, were buried with the individual, but food was not brought to the place of burial after interment. Grave markers—figurines cut out of wood—can still be seen in several cemeteries. There is a belief in life after death.

There were no exterior signs of mourning, but bereaved families often moved to another locality and remained there for some time.

Government.—The government was under the control of the cacique. His jurisdiction comprised a *lofche*, that is, 20 to 60 families who recognized him as their cacique, and who, when spoken of, were designated by his name. In the exercise of his powers he could rely on the assistance of two men and on the advice of all men of his *lofche* who had considerable ownership, whenever he called them together. No evidence of clans or gens was found.

Each *lofche* was the recognized legitimate occupant of a specific area of land. Within the area each family owned land, but it was within the cacique's power to redistribute the land. However, he had no power over the animals owned or grazed upon the land. Other important duties of the cacique were to set the time for the tribal religious ceremonial and to lead its performance, to lead his men in time of war, to enforce law and maintain order, and to punish violators.

Upon the death of a cacique his eldest son inherited the position, unless he was not considered fit, in which case, or in case the cacique had no sons, the men of the *lofche* elected a qualified man. Formerly, no woman was a cacique; today, one woman is so recognized. The cacique had an emblem when exercising his authority; he could be distinguished at all times by a distinctive earring worn by him. Ance-

ciens today are Argentine citizens with the privileges and obligations of citizens; hence, the powers of the cacique are very weak and are greatly limited. 105

Land, subsistence, and trade.—To a degree, it is correct to say that in the early days private ownership of land existed. Grazing grounds, however, were owned in common. There is no security in land tenure, today; and grazing lands are leased. Wealth in the early days consisted of sheep and cattle, and more recently these and horses. Today, ownership of 4-footed animals is restricted by the Argentine Government.

Wheat and corn have always been cultivated. Plowing was, and is, done with a wooden plow drawn by oxen; seed is scattered by hand. Every family today has a vegetable garden; many have fruit trees. Horticulture probably began with the introduction of apple trees; groves of wild apple trees can be seen in many parts.

Domesticated animals, since post-Columbian days, have been cattle, horses, sheep, pigs, dogs, cats, and chickens, and in more recent days, turkeys and geese, also. Animals were not branded formerly; every owner knew his own.

Old informants recalled the days when trade extended as far as Buenos Aires in the east and Valdivia in the west; some remembered the days of trade with peoples to the north. Most frequently trade was by barter. Cattle sold in Chile, however, were paid for in silver. Although Argentine currency is used today, trade is still often by barter.

Transporting both persons and luggage by horses already existed when old informants were children. Adults used riding gear; children rode bareback. The introduction of the cañut was vividly recalled by old informants. Snowshoes were used when snow was deep; ojotas, when the snow was less deep. Lakes and streams were crossed in dugouts, formerly; today, flat-bottomed boats and commercial sampans are used. Land, today, is traversed on foot, on horse, and in cañuts.

Chief among wild animals hunted were the guanaco, puma, rheu, wild bear, Patagonian hare, humped, Patagonian deer, and the armadillo. Wildfowl, too, were hunted. Hunting was done with traps, snares, sticks, bolas, bolas perdidas, lances, and spears; bows and arrows were not known to have been used. Dogs were used to chase the hunted to exhaustion. Hunting is practically nonexistent today.

Fish were speared by men and were also trapped in containers by

- 105 men and women in close formation. A *Stelma* shellfish was collected by women and children.

Food, shelter, clothing.—In the early days, the meat of wild animals was the chief food; it has been replaced by mutton, lamb, beef, and pork. A variety of dishes is prepared from mutton. As formerly, fish today are eaten fresh and dried. Eggs of sheep, waterfowl, and chickens are also eaten. Whole grain and grain ground to flour are prepared in various ways. Vegetables consist of wild roots and plants, and of cultivated ones, chief among them the potato. Fermented potatoes were a favorite dish. Other foods eaten were the *amaranto* nut and wild apples.

Among implements used in the preparation and serving of food, in the early days—all of which are still used to some extent today—were clubs, clamshells, mortars and pestles, mortars and pestles, plates, bowls, cups, knives, pickaxes (apple scrapers), spoons, lugs (pots for heating wheat), baskets, and winnowing trays. To these were added in recent years factory-made implements and improved ones.

In the early days, cooking was done in a shallow-pit fireplace, and is so done in the open today; today, second-hand cooking stoves are in general use. Most desirable firewoods were pine and cherry; these gave off much heat and little smoke. Fire was formerly started both by rubbing or by striking two objects, accompanied by the singing of an appropriate song.

Several meals were eaten every day, hunger indicating the time for each. Women cooked the meals. All persons present squatted in circular fashion around the fire or wooden dish containing the food, and each served himself.

An uncontaminated spring supplied drinking water. One beverage was made of fermented wild or cultivated grain or *amaranto* nuts; and another, a refreshing demulcent made from leaves and blossoms of pine and bark of maple. *Pilón*, an alcoholic drink, was made from berries of *malvaceae* (unidentified), *perilla*, and *chilba*, and from wild apples. Today, *yerba mate*, an imported non-Ararauciano bark, is the favorite drink.

The early dwelling was the *tahle*, a caligallito, translatable out of beds. Informants called it *ruka* (the Ararauciano word for dwelling) or *ruka tahle* (meaning rule of beds). An occasional family lived under a rock shelter, or in a cave where piled-up stones formed one or more walls. During the seasons of favorable weather, families sometimes lived in the shade of large trees.

The building of a *tahle* was a community affair in which both men and women participated. At its completion, a plentiful meal, including

105

or is one made with commercial aniline dyes. Plant dyes are set by boiling the article in human urine; commercial dyes, except purple, by boiling them in a solution of alum; purple, by boiling in a sulfate solution.

Baskets were woven by both men and women; winnowing trays were crilled by men. Baskets were used in carrying, in sieving, and occasionally for threshing wheat with the foot.

Women modeled pottery by the old method from either lumps or coils of clay. Generally, yellowish-red or white clay was used, mixed with sap of *maqui* and sand as additives. Today, pottery is seldom made for household use. Ollas and cisterns, pipes, cups, plates, and whistles are occasionally made for use at the gillnet. There were no standard sizes or shapes for pottery, and in general, pottery was neither glazed nor decorated. If a glaze was desired, the surface was smeared with sap of *maqui* after firing. Polishing and the application of painted or incised decorative designs, if used, were done before firing. Designs were meaningless dots and lines. Paints were made of earth cooked with specific plants, except black which consisted of earth alone.

Interpretative Summary

The Mapuche have made major adjustments to basic economic and political forces which have impinged upon them since the inception of the reservation system of 1884, but the contemporary structure of Mapuche society has been in relative equilibrium since around the turn of the century. The spot outstanding accommodation made by the Mapuche has been to the reservation system itself. Mapuche society today constitutes a successful reintegration of traditional patterns within the matrix of reservation life. The success of the reintegration is measurable by the distinctiveness of Mapuche society and culture, the functional efficacy of cultural values measurable by the degree to which Mapuche society is today integrated around them in distinction to Chilean present society.

The policy of reducing the Mapuche to reservation living has resulted in a significant environmental change - the artificial restriction of farm and pasture land. This did not present major economic problems at first, the adjustment even strengthening existing economic and political institutions, and the entire change working against the Chilean ambition for the disintegration of Mapuche society. With expanding population the matter has become serious to the Mapuche, and the continuing accommodation difficult.

An economic reaction to pacification and reservation life has been a change from desultory horticulture to field agriculture, with a shift

105
199
187

105
199
187

197
433
105
[L] from female-dominated to male-dominated agricultural activities, in the context of marketable surpluses in a cash-croft economy of regional economy. There has been a general introduction of wheat, corn, barley, and other European crops into the reservations as well as a gradual adoption of extraction plowing. Production seems to have soared and lands increased many times over during the generation or so after the inception of the reservation system, but overworking the land has since reduced productivity. The effects of a diminishing crop output are compounded by an increasing population. Mapuche technology is inadequate to cope with scarce, impoverished land and a growing population. While, as we have seen, the agricultural technologies of the Mapuche and the Chilean peasants are similar if not identical - which might lead one to observe that the Indians and their neighbors are "virtually indistinguishable" - the population densities on reservations are often more than twenty times greater than on Chilean farms. This alone would suggest different ecological adaptations that would be manifested in social structure.

197
105
The Mapuche exhibit a marked cultural consciousness in the unity with which they preserve traditional attributes, such as language, dress, house type, preferences for special foods prepared in characteristic ways, and many minutiae. These are features which are easily observed by the outsider. The Chileans, hopeful and perpetually, regard them as vestigial traits of a once viable and even threatening society. And they might well be viewed as vestigial traits in the long run, although it seems more insightful to regard them as symbols of the systems of kinship and marriage, politics, economics, and religion which define Mapuche society. Whatever one's judgment on this matter, these "vestigial" traits are today symbols of Mapuche distinctiveness and are, therefore, functional attributes of Mapuche society. How one regards these Mapuche symbols depends largely on one's point of view. If one aligns himself with Chilean cosmopolitanism, Mapuche society not only appears as a moribund structure but as a sloppy pagan organization which is fair game for "enlightenment" manipulation. To the extent that the latter view has acquired adherents in Chile, the legal existence of the reservation community is threatened. The threat is considerable. Mapuche society might well be legislated out of existence one of these days, confirming the predictions of scholars such as Corvino (1948), McBride (1950), and Tillet (1955). But in the fifty-three years between the published pro-

visions of Carrero and Trier what has actually happened to Mapuche society? Are not such predictions similar to those which, on whatever grounds, forecast the "end of the world"? Whether it dies from fading or from heavy obliteration, the Mapuche world will disappear as it is generally known. Who can argue with this?

Meanwhile, the Mapuche go on as they have been for several generations, preserving the best image they can muster of traditional Mapuche society. They delight in speaking Araucanian, even on those rare occasions when it is not as easy for them as it should be; that is, even when they are more fluent in Spanish than in Araucanian. Ritual has to be spoken in Araucanian to be fully effective. Sacrificial offerings should be made in certain ways—meat, grain, and liquid offerings contained in traditional pottery or on traditional stems. Although wealthier Mapuche sometimes build Chilean-type houses alongside their ruka, family life goes on within the ruka and the frame house is used possibly as sleeping quarters or storage space, serving as a well-stocked storeroom rather than as a comfortable domicile. Mapuche males have discarded ancestral dress such as the *chamul* and *chiripal*, but most of them believe that the Chilean knee costume which they like to affect is fundamentally a Mapuche creation. Women, by and large, are reluctant to give up the *kapu* (a women's long-sleeved wrap-around), the *shul* (jacket a once-bought shawl), and various kinds of other jewelry. Even highly acculturated women, who rarely wear fully traditional garb when at home (primarily because it is more expensive than a cotton dress), deck themselves out in complete Mapuche regalia when they attend communal and house, or when they make visits to town. These are surface phenomena which are symbolic of the reconstructed reservation society. They are symbolic of the kind of social integration discussed in the foregoing chapters.

Similar surface phenomena are the material cultural traits and agricultural techniques which reflect wealth or poverty among Mapuche and Chilean peasants alike. They are shared by two people whose social structures are vastly different. They symbolize certain changes in Mapuche economic organization, but these are as yet infrastructural changes indicating possible profound trends rather than calculations.

The final sentence of Trier's monograph reads: "In, the Araucanians may yet retain some of their old ways of life for a few generations, but a time will inevitably come when their former ways will

Il:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

197 period only as memories" (1951:132). There can be no disagreement
198 with this conclusion except to say that it sells the present short by
114 not analyzing Mapuche society in its own terms, as it exists. As a long-
105 range statement Titiev's closing remark summarizes many of his in-
termediate conclusions that Mapuche culture is breaking down under
various pressures. Such a point of view, however, tends to relegate
many cultural traits to a scrap heap of isolated vestiges and survivals,
rather than to see them in the perspective of an ongoing social struc-
ture. I think it is possible that Titiev was overly impressed with
breakdown because two of the three "reservations" on which he did
research in 1948 actually had ceased being reservation communities
by 1941,¹ having undergone *división* into severalty holdings—when
land was allotted in individual title and corporate organization was
no longer officially recognized or existent. I have inquired into the
general causes and effects of *división* and the only conclusion I have
been able to reach is that *división* signifies a large measure of social
disorder both before and after the fact. Settlements which have under-
gone *división* are no longer officially or structurally reservations (*re-
servaciones*) or Indian communities (*comunidades indígenas*).

A number of writers around the turn of the century, including
Lacham and Cuervos, two of the most astute observers of Mapuche
culture and society, also forecast large-scale and rapid transition and
the general breakdown of Mapuche social structure. It seems that this
view led them to interpret many social phenomena as vestigial, and
caused them to concentrate on reconstructing Mapuche social history.
A generation later, in 1936, McBride wrote: "The abolition of their
agrarian communities is an important event in the history of Chile,
representing the virtual extinction of the long-maintained Arauca-
nian independence" (1936:515; also cited in Titiev, 1951:15). Fore-
casts of this sort are on the order of Titiev's prediction and refer, in
a sense, to obliteration of Mapuche society, rather than to infrastruc-
tural changes in economic organization brought about through ac-
commodations to a regional framework of agricultural production,
markets, and a cash-credit system.

418 We have seen that the reservation policy is geared to entice the
419 Mapuche to give up their traditional way of life and relinquish their
105 land to more productive agriculturalists. Where reservations have
disbanded, land has tended to be sold and the Mapuche have lost
their birthright—communal title and individual usufructuary rights

¹Curruhue in 1917 and Curruhue in 1921 (Titiev, 1951:89, 91).

to land. Chilean political power can and has threatened time and again to repeal reservation law and relocate the Mapuche; in effect, to shatter the agrarian base of Mapuche society. This has not yet happened. But the threat has provided the Mapuche with a new symbol of common destiny which has political repercussions on the reservations. They stand together in opposition to legislative obliteration, and this has obvious implications for the maintenance of reservation social structure.

Multigroup integration at the political level has weakened apace with the declining importance of chieftainship vis-à-vis the Chilean government. Solidary relationships within the residential kingroup are diminishing in the area of economic activities, more specifically with regard to agricultural production. Membership in the latter group fails to offer the material security and benefits it formerly did, and crosscutting politico-economic interests have tended to divide the local kingroup into factions which sometimes override kinship affiliations and traditional obligations. Analysis reveals that factional rifts generally follow sublinear lines of segmentation and that loyalties and unities are most strongly felt among the closely related and more tightly integrated groups of kin which comprise a sublineage.

The residential kingroup as a whole, however, continues to function as a unit in noneconomic spheres of social organization, in which rights and obligations are defined with reference to membership in a localized descent group. The marriage system and the expression of ritual congregationalism are obvious examples of how residential kingroups not only form solidary units committed to a system of moral values but are by the very nature of the moral order linked to homologous groups. This communality is still expressed even in the area of greatest social change — the economy — and cooperative ventures are carried out on a reservation-wide basis, involving the building and upkeep of community roads, cemeteries, drainage ditches, schools, and so forth. In discussing the "breakdown" of Mapuche society, it is unwise, therefore, to make vague reference to "changes" in economic organization, since public works must be distinguished from agricultural activities and, even with reference to the latter, distinctions should be made between market-oriented activities and those such as digging canals and clearing land which involve community effort. And in any evaluation of the importance of group membership in Mapuche society, the plight of the socially detached person should be kept clearly in mind.

11: Faron E-5 (1952-1954) 1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

224

MAPUCHE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

105
107
186
[19]

The Mapuche speak of change, welcome certain innovations, bemoan losses. Yet they think, talk, and act in a manner different from white Chileans. They regard themselves as a different "race," as belonging to a congeries of small reservation communities which group into regions and which, in their totality, constitute Mapuche society. The things which make them distinctive today have made them so at least since the effects of the present reservation policy began to be felt after 1884.²

179
182
105

A people who have been in sustained and often violent contact with a colonial power for several centuries could hardly be expected to have maintained a "stable equilibrium" throughout this period. But in order to have preserved an undeniable distinctiveness into modern times, some measure of social integration has been necessary. Social structures are not short-lived. Subjected to the cataclysmic force of warfare, the Mapuche weathered it for centuries. Final defeat and pacification brought additional structural modifications when the Mapuche became settled on small, fixed holdings in an area they once were able to roam at large.

During the reservation period there has been a good deal of change, but not much "breakdown" in the sense alluded to above, except where "obliteration" of Mapuche communities has occurred through sale or usurpation of reservation land. In itself, the disappearance of any single community segment does not imply structural change in Mapuche society. The sustained relationships among large blocks of reservations, as in Cautin Province, are not appreciably affected by the piecemeal withdrawal of a few communities.

[48]
[22]
[93]

Nevertheless, where reservations remain intact, structural adjustments have taken place. Political power, vis-à-vis the Chilean government, has tended to slip from the hands of chiefs, but a different authority structure has come into being — other Mapuche leaders have arisen to deal with the government, and the chief as priest has acquired added stature with respect to his integrative role in the ritual congregation. Multifamily households are not as common as formerly, but stable localized lineages have developed, have increased in size and corporate importance. The segments of these are functionally similar in many respects to the *lofche* households of the past even though they no longer comprise single domiciliary units.

[92]
[13]

[75]

² It might be argued that 1800 would be a better base line, the year when the first large-scale system of reservations was inaugurated. However, the Mapuche staged two major rebellions between that time and their final pacification, and marshaled a politico-military effectiveness they no longer have.

Polygyny has almost disappeared, but its former widespread and frequent practice contributed to the establishment of a framework for the matrilineal marriage system which remains characteristically Mapuche. There have been numerous changes of this order, but not "breakdown." There has been a reformation or a reintegration of Mapuche society, an accommodation which has already been made to the main pressures of reservation life. The protection afforded by the reservation system provides considerable structural flexibility for the working out of social stresses, and in other times there were other mechanisms. It is erroneous to label such modifications "acculturation," since, rather than result in the increased similarity of Chilean and Mapuche societies, they have contributed to the maintenance of Mapuche distinctiveness. 105
177
182
[95]
[88]

In this book I have called "traditional" Mapuche society that reintegration of institutions which took form after pacification and the establishment of the reservation system of 1884. I view Mapuche society as having undergone a series of basic reintegrations during its long history. In two previous papers I have attempted to document this idea with reference to changes in the systems of kinship and marriage and residence (Faron, 1956 and 1961). Mapuche society has been affected by internal adjustments determined largely by factors emanating from without. It has been and continues to be conditioned by specific ecological adaptations or accommodations to the physical environment and by political and economic forces in the context of colonialism and the reservation system. These factors are important dependent variables in the structure of Mapuche society. The *raison d'être* of Mapuche society, the integrative force of first magnitude, is the structure of morality as this is given expression in the system of matrilineal marriage and multireservational ritual congregations. Within the context of the moral order Mapuche society lives in greatest isolation from its colonial setting, and it is with respect to moral values that sustained integration must be viewed. The structural integrity of Mapuche society is a compound of resistance and adaptation. [121]

I am not sure that a book of this sort should end with a prediction, and, at all costs, I do not wish to end on the facile note that Mapuche society is breaking down, disappearing, disintegrating, or being absorbed. I think I have shown that such predictions tend more to obscure the contemporary scene than add to one's understanding of what constitutes Mapuche society in its colonial setting. More than 177
182
121
105

II: Faron E-5 (1952-1954) 1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

286

MAPUCHE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

105
197
182
121
105
197
[182] this, though, it even seems presumptuous to write that Mapuche society is breaking down under the impact of colonial pressures and then merely indicate the trends with reference to the rubrics of economics, politics, Christianity, and education. One need not have worked in Araucanía to come to this sort of conclusion.

If a study of this sort should end with a forecast, I prefer to end cautiously and gear my prediction to a modest statement in the context of a continuing Mapuche society in which economic accommodation is instrumental to further change. It seems that the Mapuche have attempted to solve a pressing subsistence problem by entering into relationships with Chilean farmers and businessmen. Renting their holdings or otherwise making them available to Chileans on a resident basis is regarded as especially risky, and the Mapuche have tended to frown on such arrangements. But they see less risk in working on a half-share basis with Chileans.

While the latter is not an entirely realistic point of view, the risk involved is not immediately apparent to the Mapuche. Meanwhile, they have the undoubted advantage of utilizing their land more productively on a half-share basis with some of the more technologically advanced Chilean farmers. But the advantages are by no means all in favor of the Mapuche, since Chilean farmers are, in their half-share arrangements, actually breaking through the "ring of iron" formed by the reservations, of which they complain so vociferously in the newspapers, in the national legislature, and in their personal dealings with the Mapuche. Their complaint is given ample political expression, as is the new Mapuche resistance to *división* and Chilean agrarian expansion. Further changes in Mapuche social structure will very likely result from the age-old struggle over land. I hesitate to predict the outcome of the political aspect of this struggle, let alone its social consequences.

17 sometimes vociferous component of the Chilean population—a regional, ethnically-conscious minority. Since 1884 the Chilean government has introduced a series of changes in reservation law to the end of encouraging the Mapuche to give up their traditional way of life and become integrated into Chilean regional society as small farmers and rural laborers. Its efforts have been to little or no avail. In December 1960, the Chilean Congress passed a law designed to abolish the reservation system and allow for a period of grace during which the Mapuche may take stock of their new legal situation and make appropriate adjustments to the changed legal framework under which they must live. It remains to be seen what the eventual effects of this change in legal status may be. If some concession is made to Mapuche technological backwardness, if they are not strangled by tax laws and credit structures and do not lose their land through liens, forced sales, etc., it is reasonable to assume that they will endure as a functioning indigenous society for some decades to come, until their gradual amalgamation with Chilean regional society.

105 Meanwhile, because of the reservation system of 1884, they are virtually sepi off from Chileans acquitive of their land. Their social and cultural systems are rooted in an agricultural economy. They constitute a nation of smallscale and technologically anachronous diat farmers. Their stabilization on small family-based reservations for a number of generations has seen the emergence of socially significant patrilineages, the west of their social fabric being a distinctive system of lineage-based matrilineal alliance and ritual congregationalism which together constitute the sustaining fiber of Mapuche morality.

186 This book attempts to plumb what is so often called "cultural consciousness" or "cultural nationalism." There is an undeniable ethnic and cultural integrity observable among the Mapuche. The Mapuche are distinctive, strange. Their strangeness is most apparent in their public and private ritual. On further inspection, this strangeness comes through in a hundred different ways related to supernatural beliefs and associated activities. It is best understood at the local level of analysis, the reservation level of Mapuche society. Ritual performances—*awn*, *allatun*, *machitan*, *halkutan* (see below)—bind together

stone pestles and mortars are found, near Indian burying places, dissimilar to those of the Tehuelches. As to the probable use of these mortars by people to whom grain was unknown, I am inclined to conjecture that they were used to pound the algarroba pods into a paste, such as at the present day forms an article of food amongst the Pampas. These Indians are expert in the use of the sling, with which they used formerly to chase the eamy, partridge, and other small game abounding in the Rio Negro. The numbers of the Pampa tribe south of the Rio Negro are gradually diminishing, principally by the agency of smallpox. At the time of my visit their whole population was perhaps under six hundred.

The third distinct tribe are called, by the Tehuelches, Chenna or Araucanos; some of them are also known as Moluche; they are also called Manzaneros from the station of Las Manzanas or the apple-trees, the headquarters of their chief cheoque. These are an offshoot of the warlike Araucanian race, who ever since the first settlement of the Spaniards have waged war against the invading race with varying success but have never been conquered. They are a decidedly superior race in intelligence, knowledge, and character. They are at once recognisable by their finer features and flesh complexions; they cut their hair short, and are, as a rule, well dressed, in ponchos woven from home-made yarn by their women. The general appearance of the first party we met with, while still too far off for the colour of their eyes to be discernible, struck me as so peculiarly European that I remarked to the Tehuelche next me in the ranks, "Perhaps these are my countrymen?" He answered, "They are very white, but very much devil; perhaps they'll fight us." These Indians are far less migratory in their habits, and greatly dislike travelling, more especially the women, who invariably remain behind when the men go on hunting excursions, or pay visits to the settlements, either for peaceful trade, or, as frequently happens, for the purpose of plunder. Their ceremonies are much the same as those of the other Indians; they possess some knowledge of precious stones, to which they attach value as having particular virtues. Some clans of these Indians north of the Rio Limay or Rio Negro occupy stationary dwellings made of skins, but much larger, and exhibiting greater regard for comfort than the toldos of the Tehuelches. They also possess large flocks of sheep, herds of cattle, and horses. In the country apples and pifones abound, which they gather every autumn. Of the apples they make cider, and also prepare an intoxicating drink from some other plant; I think the algarroba.

Like the Pampas, they are armed with long light lances, which they use with great dexterity. The chiefs maintain strict disci-

P
105A
105

105 pline, and I have seen their assembled forces, each squadron with a captain or leader at its head, manœuvre like disciplined troops. Their language appeared to me to be much softer in sound than that of the Tehuelches, and resembles in some measure the Pampa tongue. The Moluche women are remarkable for their modesty and good looks, one of their chief charms being their beautiful black hair, which is of great length and fine texture, and of which they are justly proud. This race alone resisted the aggressive power of the Peruvian Incas, and a conjecture that some of the fugitives of that Royal race took refuge amongst them, was suggested to my mind by the light complexion of some of their families, and by the occurrence of the name "Manco" as that of a man who was killed during my sojourn in their country, and who, I was told, was the descendant of a great chief. Altogether these Araucanians are a far higher and more cultivated race than the Pampas or Tehuelches. Their numbers in Patagonia proper, viz., south of the Rio Limay, may be estimated at three hundred men, women, and children, which at a rough estimate would give the numbers of the Indians of Patagonia as amounting to about two thousand five hundred.

DISCREPANCY.

000 Mr. D'ALMEIDA begged to observe, on the races of Patagonia, that he saw a similarity in some of their customs with those of the Chinese and the eastern races. Painting or daubing the body with the dyes or flour extracted from the leaves or roots of farinaceous plants, was a common practice with the Javanese and the natives of the Malayan seas. They burnt their hair for similar reasons to those assigned by the Patagonians. The offering of the bull's-head was also common among some of the Javanese. Mr. d'Almeida witnessed one of these ceremonies. They call it the "festa Boomie", an offering to earth. As to burning the goods and chattels of the deceased, Herodotus mentions that the Scythians practised this ceremony. Fenimore Cooper described a similar ceremony, he thought, in his "Last of the Mohicans", and it is a subject of a poem by Longfellow. The Chinese, like the Patagonians, also believed in the existence of a good spirit, though they bowed down and burnt candles to the bad spirits, because the latter required more praying to than the former. He made these observations merely to show the similarity of customs prevalent amongst nations and races, though wide apart from each other.

T 142 Lieut. MUSTERS said that the method of ascertaining an average height of the Patagonians, and also the difference of stature between the northern and southern tribes, was obtained by the author of the paper taking the average of eighteen able-bodied men, in whose company he travelled. Of these, ten were of the northern tribe and eight of the southern, the latter exceeding the others in a small measure in average height. The obsidian and flint articles

000